THE

Commonweal

More Than Isolationism

NEUTRALISM IN ASIA

by Harold C. Hinton

Presidential Endorsement

LABOR MAKES A CHOICE

by John C. Cort

From Israel

A CONTINUING DEBATE

by Gunnar D. Kumlien

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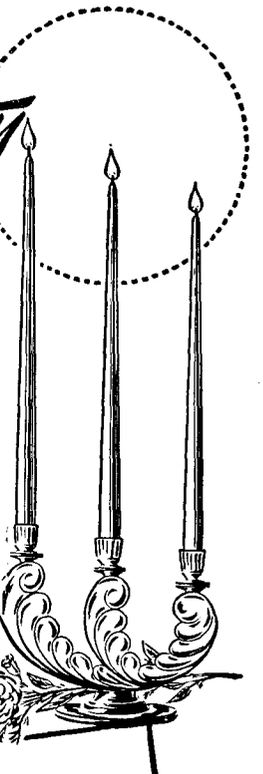

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THIS WEEK

Week by Week	623
Neutralism in Asia *by Harold C. Hinton*	627
A Continuing Debate *by Gunnar D. Kumlien*	630
Labor Makes a Choice *by John C. Cort*	632
The Screen *by Philip T. Hartung*	633
The Stage *by Richard Hayes*	634
Books	635
Index to Volume LXIV	640

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

TIME OF DECISION

FROM THE vantage point of 1956, the last four years seem to have provided something of a breathing-spell for the American people. Perhaps historians of the future will even say that this interval of relative calm was a psychological necessity. The plunge from a hot war with Germany and Japan into the struggle with the Soviet Union and Communist China came as a shock to Americans who had dreamed of peace and a brave new world. The Marshall Plan, aid to embattled Greece, help for Turkey, the Berlin airlift, intervention in Korea—crisis followed crisis in dizzying succession. It is small wonder that a national search for scapegoats got under way, that domestic bitterness and internal division reached new highs as Senator McCarthy and his allies "explained" the plight in which the nation found itself.

In this historic situation, the unique contribution of President Eisenhower has been, by virtue of his own personality and temperament, to minimize and soften internal dissension. His Administration has thus produced a period of relative calm in the domestic debate over foreign policy and the future course this nation must pursue. In this Eisenhower climate, old wounds have had an opportunity to heal, and partisan animosities have eased. But now, in an election year, it is time for all to take a hard look at where we stand and where we are going.

Mr. Eisenhower has been the President of the Great Disengagement. He was able to accept a peace in Korea which would have been politically impossible for the McCarthy-goaded Democrats to accept. An unwritten agreement apparently exists which has leashed Chiang Kai-shek in exchange for lack of all-out Chinese Communist aggression against Formosa. Both the United States and the Soviet Union seem tacitly to accept the status quo in divided Germany. The U.S. chose not to intervene directly in Indochina—possibly because the use of ground forces there would only have invited the resumption of attack on the necessarily weakened forces in South Korea—and the terms of another uneasy truce left North Viet Nam in the hands of the Communists.

Perhaps, as Walter Lippmann has suggested, the United States was during this period over extended. Certainly, the prospect of a large-scale ground war in Asia is enough to give any Western policy-maker bad dreams. The United States cannot compete in terms of manpower with the massed populations of Communist China and the Soviet Union, and it cannot interevene here, there and everywhere without discrimination. But if there are certain things we cannot do, we still must have some long-range, coherent policy. We cannot let things drift and slide, hoping vaguely that time will take care of our problems.

WHEN PRESIDENT Eisenhower assumed office, his Administration took its much-heralded New Look at our defense establishment. At that time, the decision was made to cut down on manpower in the Armed Forces and to place increasing reliance on nuclear weapons. According to that plan, the threat of massive retaliation would paralyze the Communist forces into immobility. Today the limitations of the new policy are obvious. The United States no longer has a monopoly on nuclear weapons. Massive retaliation has become a two-way street; if its threat keeps the Communists from taking a big step, it also means, from the U.S. point of view, that only an obvious full-scale assault by the Communists merits our use of the ultimate weapon of destruction. We move perilously in the direction of total impotence in fact if not in

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theory, and despite our awe-inspiring arsenal. While the Communists carefully refrain from the all-out effort that would provoke our total response, we have sharply reduced our ability to deal with small crises, and rumors now say that still another substantial cut in the Armed Forces is under serious consideration, in order to avoid a sharp rise in military costs and to keep the budget in balance.

This kind of thing is contagious. Last week we expressed our disappointment at Adlai Stevenson's remarks about a possible end to the draft. Since then it has been said that Mr. Stevenson's statement was provoked not only by Republican charges that the Democrats are the "war party" but by a rumor that the Administration planned a dramatic pre-election end-of-the-draft announcement as a 1956 equivalent of 1952's "I shall go to Korea." But, whatever the provocation, a competition between the two parties to see which can outpromise the other in this area could be fatal.

Military strength itself, certainly, is not enough to win the great struggle in which we are engaged. That struggle is a complex one, and in it the great ideas that inform our civilization and the values that it enshrines are, in a real sense, our ultimate weapons. But those ideas and those values have a chance to operate only within the framework of armed truce made possible by Western military strength. The defense expenditures of our allies represent for them a proportionately much heavier burden on their economies than our spending does on ours. How can we expect them to keep their sacrifices up if we do not lead the way?

As with every course, embarking upon a higher level of defense expenditures carries with it real dangers. In this case, one real danger would be the temptation to rely only on military strength, and a mistake in this direction could be just as fatal as dismantling our military forces would be in the other. But we must face the fact that the composition of our armed forces which results from dependence upon nuclear weapons and massive retaliation does not provide the flexibility and mobility needed to cope with small but important emergencies, whether in Korea, Indochina, Egypt, Burma, or Western Germany. Such incidents can be expected to increase rather than decrease in the years immediately ahead. We must be prepared to meet these challenges, and at the same time we must do much more than we are now doing in the area of political, economic and diplomatic warfare.

All this is going to cost money, but we see no way around it. Almost against its will, the United States has been thrust into a crucial role in world affairs. In carrying out that role, relaxation is a luxury we cannot afford, and hard decisions about our future course must be made soon. Whoever wins the election, we hope that as President he will tell the American people where we stand, fairly and squarely, and what we must do in the years ahead. The American people have always risen to meet any national necessity; they will do so again, if the dangers ahead are adequately presented to them. And history will have a special place of honor for the man who has the vision to see the hard course that lies ahead and the courage to say what we must do, honestly and plainly.

NEXT WEEK

H. A. REINHOLD writes on the lessons of the international liturgical meeting at Assisi.

"In the thirteenth century the Umbrian groom of Holy Poverty, his Lady, won the hearts of the masses with his gentle humanization of the Savior, his own personality and his new devotional forms. Today the masses, heretofore 'silent and inattentive spectators,' are drawn into the great trinitarian drama that is the liturgy: worship of the Father by the whole Christ in the Spirit Who gives life to the Body."

SUEZ BOYCOTT

THE CRISIS over the Suez Canal has reached a new and desperate stage. Britain and France first put their trust in a show of armed force plus political persuasion. The failure of the Menzies mission to produce Nasser's acquiescence to restoration of international control of the Canal has now led to concerted economic pressure, in which the United States is playing an important role, to put it mildly.

Here are some of the leading elements in the situation as we see them. Mr. Nasser himself will not back down on the key issue of control no matter what the pressure. Obviously his armed forces could not stand up against a Franco-British attack, with or without reinforcement from Russian "volunteers." Dispatch of troops to the Mediterranean involved a certain amount of bluff, but in any case Mr. Dulles has gained the credit for ruling out such an attack on the part of our allies.

In a similar fashion the Egyptian economy is in no state to withstand for long the sort of pressure

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that is to be applied by the Western nations. As the "canal users' " operation in the Suez would be clearly unacceptable to the Egyptian Government, that proposal or threat is primarily a way-station to a boycott of the Canal intended—with the freezing of Egyptian foreign credits, cessation of grain shipments, etc.—to bring the Egyptians to heel at last. Here again the Soviet Union is in no position to make up the losses inflicted by the West, even in the matter of experienced pilots. In a few months Egypt's plight will be desperate in the extreme. Nasser himself may well be overthrown.

To what extent does this mean that present moves against Egypt will have been successful? The purported object is to assure uninterrupted flow of vital commerce through the Suez. Mr. Nasser has promised to provide this, although his embargo against Israel has to be kept in mind. Following the Menzies mission, the Egyptian leader made a counter-offer which on paper, at least, embodied a number of very real concessions. He promised that there would be no "discrimination or exploitation whatsoever" in the operation of the Canal. He offered to run it on an independent budget outside other Egyptian government finances, with an "adequate" percentage of the revenues strictly earmarked for development of the Canal. Also he said that he was willing to conclude a "binding" agreement on toll rates. In other words one solution would have been to agree to new negotiations on the basis of the Nasser offer.

That would leave Mr. Nasser still in power and imply Egyptian control of the Canal. But is there not a lot to be said for considering such an agreement? To break colonial shackles by nationalizing is one thing, to break a freely-concluded international agreement which provides vital national revenue quite another. Is there any real assurance, anyway, that Mr. Nasser's successor would prove more tractable or certain to have the Canal provide its users with unimpeded and efficient facilities?

It is the inevitable repercussions to the present alternative policy that should give pause. Millions of the Egyptian people live on the very margin of subsistence as it is. Drastic cuts in Egyptian revenues can have but one result for them. It seems inconceivable in times like these that international control could be won back through this cruel form of economic warfare, which can only succeed in solidifying the anti-Western sentiments of much of the Arab world and alienating the bulk of the still uncommitted peoples. Moreover, such a policy simply opens wide the door to Russian dominance in the Middle East. The Soviet Union's credits may prove inadequate, its pilots too few, its technicians and military advisors in Egypt not plentiful and even its moral support somewhat suspect in Cairo. But such inadequacies now have to stand comparison only with the hostile and ruinous pressures of the West. Our support of this sort of British and French pressure could scarcely be more short-sighted.

INTEGRATION IN KENTUCKY

ALTHOUGH no clear pattern of desegregation in the schools has yet emerged, recent events in Kentucky schools suggest what that pattern will be. No one, even the most optimistic, thought that the Supreme Court's ruling on segregation would be effected both rapidly and easily. But even the most pessimistic, or realistic, could not foresee the exact nature of the difficulties they expected to encounter. Now there have been enough ugly incidents, enough public discussion, debate and denunciation, enough bungled opportunities and solid achievements to allow a better estimate of what lies ahead.

Kentucky is a "border" state with fewer, and less firmly held, Southern traditions than the states of the deep South. This fact partially accounts for the recent, successful integration which took place in the public schools of Louisville, a city whose population of 400,000 includes 75,000 Negroes. But any full account must give credit to the manner in which the integration was achieved and to Omer P. Carmichael, who was responsible for the program.

Mr. Carmichael said that "integration is more than simply mixing the races in a classroom. It is the creation of good relations among all men—of which integration in the school is only a part." The city began creating these "good relations" years ago, even before the Supreme Court ruling. Racial barriers fell, one by one, in the public libraries, the city's graduate and professional schools, the public golf links and swimming pools. Important civic and religious groups participated in the educational effort. When integration came to the public schools it came as only a part—though an important part—of the established pattern. Without a single incident 2800 Negroes came to attend schools that were previously all white.

South and west of Louisville, in a little mining town of 1400, integration met a setback. When Mrs. James Gordon, a Negro, attempted to enter her two children in the previously all-white school,

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she was threatened and turned back by a mob. But the National Guard, ordered out by Governor A. B. Chandler, escorted the two children to school. The school was then boycotted by the white students until the State Attorney General ruled that there were two ways of enforcing integration: by administrative decision of local officials or by a Federal District Court order. The first of these is not likely in Clay; the second has not yet been sought by Mrs. Gordon. In the meantime, her children have been excluded and the white students have returned to Clay's elementary schools.

But the consequences of these events in Louisville and Clay are not confined to Louisville and Clay. Louisville will remain a bright symbol, showing that integration can be achieved peacefully. Clay has given encouragement to those who would resist. Before the Attorney General's ruling, one resident of Clay said they would continue to fight, "but once the courts finally decide against us, I think we'll give in, the way they did at Sturgis." For at Sturgis, a nearby town, a white-student boycott had started to break down when National Guardsmen continued to escort seven Negro children to school. But after Mrs. Gordon's children were excluded by the school board's decision, leaders of a White Citizens Council called for a renewal of the Sturgis boycott.

One lesson emerges clearly from those separate events. Integration in the schools can be achieved peacefully and with "deliberate speed," but it must be prepared for. An attempt at integration which proves abortive, because it is mishandled or is too "soon," sets back integration in other areas. Zeal and good will, however necessary, are not sufficient to bring about rapid integration. Those who wish to achieve integration with optimum speed will recognize that hard work, education and moderation—that hated word—will be necessary. Clay represents a battle fought and not completely lost; Louisville marks a real achievement, a total victory.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA

THE *Morning Freiheit* has rebuked the press chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Although this may be classified as one of those surprises which no longer surprise, it is worth noting that this Yiddish-language Communist newspaper has been angered by Leonid F. Ilyichev. For the Russian press chief had attacked an article that appeared in the Warsaw equivalent of *Freiheit*. He denied anti-Semitism in Russia and spoke of anti-Soviet slander in such articles. He admitted that many Jewish writers had been imprisoned unjustly but he objected to the conclusions of the Warsaw paper.

Freiheit pointed out what has been common knowledge for some time: "not only individual Jewish victims, but the entire Jewish culture was liquidated." *Freiheit* did not yield up all its illusions, however. For it agreed with Mr. Ilyichev—in spite of the fact "there are no facilities for cultural self-expression by non-religious Socialist Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union"—that there was no Government anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It settled its strong complaint by merely asking for more information on the rehabilitation of Yiddish writers.

That the Soviet Union should find it difficult to fulfill such a temperate request is understandable. The American Jewish Committee has just reported that the Soviet Union has yet to repudiate established anti-Jewish measures. The surprise, though slight, is that the *Freiheit* finally does its belated worrying in public.

ARCHBISHOP EDWIN V. O'HARA

WHILE on his way via Rome to the Liturgy Congress at Assisi to report on the new Holy Week observances in the United States, Archbishop O'Hara of Kansas City died at Milan, Italy. He was one of the most widely known American Catholic leaders, especially because of his contributions in the fields of social action and religious education. His kindliness and geniality towards all belied the vigor with which Archbishop O'Hara addressed himself to a wide range of tasks throughout the course of a long and remarkably fruitful life.

As Father Edwin O'Hara he served as a diocesan superintendent of schools and a chaplain in the first world war. He had much to do with the enactment of this country's first state minimum wage law—in Oregon in 1914. He also served on the Portland Housing Commission and on state unemployment and industrial welfare boards. Archbishop O'Hara was one of the founders of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and for many years chairman of the nationwide Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. He was also for years a leading member of the NCWC Administrative Board. He was one of the leaders in the liturgical revival in this country and took a lively interest in the development of the American Catholic press. His accomplishments were many and substantial. May he rest in peace.

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Neutralism in Asia

"THE TIDE OF NEUTRALISM RUNS VERY DEEP AND EMBRACES IMPORTANT SEGMENTS OF ALL CLASSES OF ASIAN SOCIETY"

HAROLD C. HINTON

NOT LONG AGO the world was treated to the bizarre spectacle of a Yugoslav Communist, an Egyptian colonel, and an Indian socialist meeting with loud fanfare to discuss matters of common interest. If one were to ask what this oddly assorted trio have in common, the answer of course would be neutralism, one of the most important and yet one of the most fragile policies and attitudes in the world today.

The main source of neutralism is probably colonialism, which swept like a tidal wave over Africa, India, and Southeast Asia and spent itself against the coasts of China and Japan. By now it has largely ebbed, but it has kept Asians resentful. They know that if it were not for the second world war and the Japanese conquest of Southeast Asia, the wave of colonialism might not yet have receded. They also know that from 1919 on the voice of Moscow and of Communists everywhere was raised—out of motives which many Asians do not bother to examine—against Western colonialism in Asia.

Now that they have achieved independence, more through their own exertions and the force of circumstances than through Western generosity, the formerly colonial countries of Asia find themselves preoccupied with burning questions to whose solution the colonial governments in their day paid little attention—industrialization and raising of pitiful living standards, in particular. Any threat to peace is anathema to a nation engaged in such a program, because it threatens to compel the diversion of scarce resources from economic development to military preparedness.

Americans, of all people, should be able to understand a mood like this. When we were a young nation, we sought to avoid "entangling alliances" and to stay out of wars, particularly the great struggle between the superpowers of that day, Britain and France. We did this both because we considered Europe wicked and despotic and because we were anxious to get on with our self-appointed task of taming the wilderness and exploiting our resources. Not until the end of the nineteenth century did we begin to exert a major influence on international affairs. If we had had, however, a militarized colossus to the north of us, as India does today, we might not have been allowed the luxury of this isolationism.

THE ATTITUDE of the Asian neutralist toward Communism and Communists is a complex one. He seldom has much sympathy for the tactics and objectives of the Communists in his own country. He generally tends, however, to underestimate the strength of the ties that bind them to Moscow. He himself may well espouse Marxism of the moderate revisionist variety. Toward the Soviet Union he often feels a certain admiration, based on the conviction that it is a new nation which has emerged from poverty and backwardness and made striking economic and cultural progress through quick and forceful methods. Nehru expresses something of this view in his autobiography, in which he favorably compares the Soviet penal code (which he had not experienced) with the reality of British detention camps in India (which he had).

The Asian neutralist tends to feel still more admiration for Communist China than for Russia. Here is an ancient Asian nation, long a byword for weakness and incompetence, which has transformed itself almost overnight into a world power in the political and military senses, and promises in time to become one in the economic sense as well through adopting the formulas of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. It is no wonder that the prestige of Communist China stands high among many Asians who have neither the knowledge nor the desire to understand the future which Communist China, however distantly, has in mind for them. To a degree that is difficult for the outsider to understand, neutralist Asians show little interest in learning what actual conditions in either Russia and China are and what their policies toward other peoples than their own have been. As far as China goes, only two things perturb the Asian neutralist: the boundary disputes between Communist China and her neighbors (especially India and Burma), and Peking's ambivalent attitude

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toward the overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia.

The Asian neutralist's feelings toward the United States are quite mixed. On the one hand, he does not deny that the United States was the first country in history to throw off the colonial yoke of a European power. On the other hand, the United States has compromised its fundamental anti-colonialism in Asian eyes by its tendency to support its allies in NATO whenever their interests conflict with those of an Asian nation, as Portugal's do with India's in the case of Goa. We have succeeded the British as the whipping boy of Asian nationalists and anti-colonialists. Wealth probably arouses more resentment than admiration, and to spend it too freely in Asia may do more harm than good, as Russia is now learning through the backfiring of its clumsily executed trade-and-aid program in Burma. Above all, perhaps, the Asian neutralist dislikes the United States for what he considers its insufficient concern for peace, its emphasis on military aid programs and military pacts.

ESSENTIALLY, neutralism is a policy of "nonalignment" with either of the two "power blocs," the Russian and the American, and at least theoretically of "equidistance" from both of them. But it is, or claims to be, much more than mere isolationism. It claims to be a positive and active, not a negative and passive, policy. It tries to mediate and prevent conflicts, not simply to stay out of them.

Until recently it was a popular belief in the United States that only the intellectuals of Asia were neutralist, and that the people in general probably had more sense. On this basis our embassy in Indonesia predicted a victory for the comparatively pro-American Moslem parties in the general election which was held last fall. Yet this election, like other recent ones in Malaya, Ceylon, and Burma, showed that the tide of neutralism runs very deep and embraces important segments of all classes of society.

In addition to its sincere if somewhat wrongheaded idealism, it should be noted that there is an element of opportunism in neutralism. By this I mean the calculation that economic benefits and diplomatic favors can be secured from both sides, and probably maximized, by a policy of playing each side against the other. The situation in which Egypt recently found herself, or thought she found herself, with regard to the Aswan Dam is a good example of this kind of calculation, and also of how badly it can misfire on occasion.

In their heart of hearts neutralist Asians almost certainly know that they do not have to fear military invasion or political domination by the United States or its allies. For all their outward calmness, they can feel no such certainty about the Soviet Union or Communist China. They know that their punishment for siding with the United States would be much more severe at the hands of a triumphant Moscow-Peking axis than it would be for siding with the latter if the United States won. Under these circumstances it is the practical course to pretend that no real danger from the Soviet bloc exists and to favor it slightly while proclaiming a policy of neutrality and equidistance. Thus neutralism tends to be pro-Communist, in effect if not in intent. It generally equates the partial absence of liberty and social justice in the Western nations with their almost total absence in the Soviet bloc. It benefits from the protection of American arms, whose existence has almost certainly prevented a much greater extension of Communism in Asia as well as in Europe, while refusing to align itself with the source of this protection.

TO DATE, there can be no doubt that the Communists have generally been much cleverer in their handling of neutralist Asia than we have. One of their masterpieces was the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which have deep philosophical roots in both Asian thought and Marxist ideology (or at least its less belligerent aspect) and which almost no one in either the Soviet bloc or in the neutralist nations publicly disparages. Not so in our country, where Senator Knowland and others rush in with denunciations where statesmen fear to tread.

The new and milder foreign policy which has come into vogue in Moscow and Peking since the death of Stalin has had the effect, almost certainly intended, of encouraging neutralism and seeming to confirm its essential correctness. Asian neutralists know that the current Communist line calls for peaceful efforts to win influence, and if possible control, in the non-Communist nations, but they evidently feel that they have little to fear from this peaceful competition. What they perhaps fail to realize is that, as Mikoyan pointed out in his important speech to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February, 1956, the Communists are prepared to revert to violence if the peaceful approach fails.

In October, 1954, during a visit to Peking, Nehru was able to secure self-denying pledges from the Chinese Communists on two of the matters which perturb the uncommitted nations of Asia the most. They promised to refrain from military intervention outside their own frontiers (apart from Taiwan and the offshore islands, which are considered to be Chinese territory not yet "liberated"), and they promised to negotiate the touchy question of the citizenship of overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Chou En-lai reaffirmed these promises in effect at Bandung, six months later. It seems a safe bet that if Peking

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were to commit a flagrant violation of either of these pledges she would lose much of her prestige in neutral Asia, and one would therefore expect her to make strenuous efforts to fulfill them.

Yet, as a matter of fact, she has done relatively little in this direction. The incursion by Chinese Communist troops into Burmese territory claimed by China, late in July of this year, and the subsequent Chinese demand that the Indian government demilitarize a section of its frontier with Tibet, to the west of Nepal, hardly look like scrupulous non-intervention in the affairs of neighboring states. The only major fruit to date of Peking's pledge with reference to the overseas Chinese is the Sino-Indonesian treaty of April, 1955, which contained so many booby traps that the Indonesian government failed to ratify it for more than a year, and did so in July of this year only with certain reservations. Communist China's slowness and bad faith in implementing two pledges so important to the uncommitted Asian nations are likely to damage her standing among them to some extent and may offer American diplomacy an important opportunity. What could we do to improve our position in Asia?

THE UNCOMMITTED nations of Asia are in a diplomatic position to exert considerable moral pressure on Moscow and Peking—partly, to be sure, because the latter hope eventually to use them for their own ends—and in fact have exerted such pressure. It also happens that it is the uncommitted nations of Asia, rather than the pro-American ones, which in general have made the greatest progress toward political stability and decent living standards. This fact would be even more obvious than it is if it were not for the substantial military and economic aid which the pro-American nations have received from the United States. It would seem wise, then, for American policy to try to establish closer ties of friendship and cooperation with the uncommitted nations, rather than relying as at present almost entirely on military alliances with the pro-American ones.

To the extent that neutralism is motivated by opportunism and conveys an implied threat to go Communist if we are not lavish with our favors, the only possible answer we can give of course, as George Kennan has pointed out, is "Go." Fortunately, however, neutralism is not entirely so motivated, and it may shed its strong strain of anti-Americanism, even if it does not cease to be neutral by aligning itself with us, if it is approached with patience, objectivity, and tact.

The first obstacle to be overcome in devising an effective Far Eastern policy for the United States is that of ignorance. Far too little is known in this country about Asia and the Soviet bloc, and far too little in Asia about the Soviet bloc and ourselves. Strenuous efforts must be made to remedy this situation. Governmental intelligence studies alone are not enough, since it is necessary to form an enlightened public opinion both in this country and in Asia. Governmental intelligence and propaganda, responsible journalism, and academic research all have a part to play in creating

a general and intelligent understanding of the real problems of Asia and of what our policy toward them should be.

Next to knowledge the most urgent necessity is diplomacy. If the Chinese Communists are generally obstinate and belligerent in their dealings with Americans, they have nevertheless succeeded in conveying to many people in the uncommitted nations the impression that it is we rather than they who are obstructing a settlement of the issues between us. Indeed, many of their recent pronouncements on foreign policy, such as their demand that the Korean armistice negotiations be broadened into a general conference on Far Eastern problems, or Chou En-lai's dramatic offer at Bandung to negotiate with the United States on the Formosan question, can most easily be explained on the assumption that they regard the United States as so irrevocably hostile that they can offer to negotiate with the almost sure knowledge that we will not respond. It should be the task of American statesmanship to abandon this rigid posture—or at least the appearance of a rigid posture—and regain freedom of movement through a willingness to negotiate when it is advantageous to do so.

A diplomacy which is effective in dealing with the Chinese Communists, and thereby in enhancing our standing in the eyes of uncommitted Asia, need not oppose the Chinese on every point. It should generally avoid opposing them on grounds where they are strong, militarily or politically, unless of course a genuine and serious issue of principle or national security is involved. An excellent example of the sort of ground on which the Chinese Communists ought not to be opposed is the offshore islands.

On the other hand, an effective diplomacy should try to meet—not necessarily always to oppose—the Chinese Communists on ground where they are weak. A good example is the serious but partly concealed

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conflict between Communist China and her neighbors over boundaries and the status of overseas Chinese communities. In cases of this kind American diplomatic support should go to the uncommitted nations affected, although as unobtrusively as may be necessary to avoid embarrassing them. An example of a direct Sino-American issue on which the Chinese Communist position was weak, and on which the United States government by standing firm won the agreement (though not the full and open support) of the uncommitted nations and eventually prevailed, is the principle of voluntary repatriation of prisoners taken in Korea.

Military considerations certainly have a place in an effective strategy for dealing with Communist China, but it is a subordinate place, dictated partly by the Chinese Communists themselves through their apparent decision to abstain for the time being from subversion and "brushfire" wars. Military alliances, military aid programs, and friendly forces stationed at strategic points are essential, but they ought to be kept unobtrusive as possible—the Chinese Communists will be aware of them in any case—and subordinated to the needs of political strategy and diplomacy. Threats, even apparent threats, to Chinese territory should be carefully avoided. This has not always been the case in the past; there have been times when senior American officers have come dangerously close to dictating the Far Eastern policy of the United States.

If the United States were to adopt a realistic, flexible, and effective policy toward Communist China, our standing in uncommitted Asia would be greatly improved, even if that policy stopped short of recognizing Communist China or jettisoning the Chinese Nationalists. In neutralist eyes we would have "come off it" and established our mutual relations on a better footing.

America needs a policy which equals in realism and flexibility that of Moscow and Peking. If adopted, the lines of approach just suggested would go far toward creating such a policy. Given such a policy, there is some chance that Asian neutralists will awaken in time to the real nature of the issues between the two "power blocs" and will lend increasing support to the cause of imperfect civilization against that of perfect barbarism. In the absence of such a reorientation in Washington and in "the great arc of free Asia," however, it is not at all unlikely that within a generation all of Asia will be Communist. The seeds of this terrible transformation have been sown and tended since 1919, and in several areas they have already sprouted. They will do the same in the Middle East, in Africa, and in Latin America, if we do not act in time. And simply denouncing neutralism is not enough.

FROM ISRAEL

A Continuing Debate

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

AN AMERICAN Jew has written a book that is almost impossible to get hold of in Israel, in spite of the fact that the bookshops in that little country can compete successfully with the very best in northwestern Europe or the United States. At the same time this strange book is read and commented upon with the greatest interest by all diplomats, journalists or UN-people accredited or working in the area. It is simply considered a must for everybody who has anything to do with Israel. Although most of the readers abstain from expressing any judgments on it, they lend it and recommend it to those who cannot get it fast enough from Europe or the United States.

This book is Alfred Lilienthal's *What Price Israel.* The author expresses, more or less, the same views as the American Council for Judaism—that is, he is an anti-Zionist Jew. In spite of the fact that he is a Jew, he travels frequently in the Arab countries and tells everybody that the Zionists have brought great pressure upon him to retract what he has written in the book. In fact, the arguments of the anti-Zionist Jews are among the best weapons of the Arab propaganda against Israel. These Jews are, therefore, violently attacked in Israel and by Zionist organizations all over the world and called traitors, fellow-travelers and anti-Semites. There are quite a number of them even outside the American Council for Judaism, for instance among different groups of religious Jews or among Jewish intellectual circles.

The opposition between these Jews and the Zionists has increased through the present tension in the Middle East and has reached a rare degree of virulence. What is most noteworthy about the anti-Zionist Jews, who are often regarded as a strange lot, is that they are

Mr. Kumlien, The Commonweal's correspondent in Rome, recently completed an extensive tour of the Middle East.

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Jews who take a decided position against Zionism, whatever it personally costs them. Some of them show an amazing moral courage. While the majority of the Jews all over the world sympathize with Zionism, this minority is there like a symbol, representing the other great trend within Judaism. One is active, efficient and highly articulate and the other more moderate, speaking usually in a low voice, but nonetheless stubbornly convinced.

It is a struggle which started a long time ago and broke out last time during the war, when the gas chambers in the concentration camps worked at full speed all over Nazi-occupied Europe. It found its most dramatic expression when the ghetto in Warsaw was surrounded by the German SS units and the Jewish leaders had their last reunions in cellars and sewage canals under the smoking ruins. Some of them said: let us not meet this barbaric violence with violence, for it will only make our enemies more cruel and we will ourselves lose our moral superiority! Others said: the only language these barbarians understand is violence! We must hit them back ten times more violently! Those who said this were the majority. The fight went on and the uprising in the ghetto of Warsaw was choked in blood, but it remains as one of the most fascinating, terrible and moving episodes of world history. Even if very few Jews survived, the principle to hit violently back did survive.

MR. LILIENTHAL says in his book that Zionism has developed great skill in getting its own way, particularly in the United States, playing Republicans against Democrats in their fear of losing "the Jewish vote." The principle has been: those who are not with us are against us. This attitude has made the issue between Israel and the Arab states a domestic issue in the United States and the zeal shown by the Zionists is such, according to the author, that almost everybody who has been the victim of it, Jew and non-Jew alike, has retreated, unable to stand the public pressure. He emphasizes that Jews like Albert Einstein had many objections to the creation of the state of Israel, but that in general the Jews in the United States are strongly influenced by Zionism and by questions of importance to Israel.

Arthur Koestler takes the attitude that there are only two roads open for the Jews in the world now: return to Israel and become citizens in the new state—which American Jews, for example, have shown so clearly that they are not interested in doing, however generous they are in giving funds to Israel—or assimilate without reservation in the Diaspora, not only politically but religiously.

Lilienthal and Koestler have, without a doubt, many open or secret sympathizers among the highly cultured Jews of the West, particularly in the intellectual élite. They fear that present events will in the long run create resentment against the Jews in the world, and that it will sooner or later break out once more, as it has broken out so many times in the past.

But many of them are deeply shaken by the following arguments, which can be heard among the more radical Zionists and among the "activists" now incorporated in the ultra-nationalistic Herut organization in Israel. These extremists are a minority, but they have on many occasions exercised an extraordinary, nearly hypnotic, attraction on the majority and particularly on the young. Their immediate aim, which they make no bones about, is a greater Israel, which includes most of neighbouring Jordan, so that Israel would roughly correspond to the ancient land of Canaan. They refuse to accept the present armistice and for them there is not even a cold war with the Arabs, but a "lukewarm war" which any moment may turn into a "hot war," without any juridical changes or breach of agreements.

They deny flatly that the rough method entails any risks for the Jewish people, be it in Israel or in the Diaspora. And their documentation is indeed most impressive. First of all, they say they base their viewpoint on scientific studies of anti-Semitism. According to them anti-Semitism rises out of the almost sadistic rage of an envious, cowardly non-Jewish majority against a defenseless Jewish minority, and the sadism of this majority will be in proportion to the humility and the moderation of the minority. If the Jewish minority hits back and hits back ten times more violently, the basic cowardice of the anti-Semites will inevitably compel them to yield.

THE EXAMPLES quoted are many and convincing. Ten years ago British HQ in Palestine in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem was blown to pieces and nearly a hundred people were killed by Jewish terrorists. British soldiers were hanged and the corpses booby-trapped with explosive charges, so that their comrades who tried to cut them down were blown up at the same time. Great Britain was regarded as Nazi Germany had been recently and this only because the British tried to delay the formation of the state of Israel. The moderate Jews wailed that the relations between Israel and Great Britain had thus been spoiled for ever. But what happened? Only five years later, the relations were very good between the two countries and they have improved ever since. Count Folke Bernadotte, the mediator of the UN during the war with the Arabs in 1948, was murdered by Jewish terrorists, and again the moderate Jews of Lilienthal's or Koestler's type complained bitterly that the relations between Israel and a country like Sweden, which had saved so many Jews during the war, would be spoiled forever. What happened? Only a

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few years later the relations between the two countries were the best. . .

Eight years ago, this argument goes on, Israel expelled hundreds of thousands of Arabs. Even many Jews thought that this should not have been done and the Arab leaders promised that they would crush us like lice. They have said so now during eight years without daring to do anything for fear of retaliation. It is not even true that Zionism compromises the American oil interests in the Middle East. For the Arab rulers realize that only the tolerant capitalist West would give them the royalties they now receive and they know that they themselves are not able to exploit the oil. We know that they hate us, these people say, and that their hatred increases like a rising tide, but let them hate us until they grow tired of it!

It is understandable that many Jews are persuaded by this reasoning. It is impossible to foresee now who will win out in the long run, the moderates or the extremists. But it is pretty obvious that peace in the Middle East depends not only on the Arabs but on which of these two groups is going to have the final say.

PRESIDENTIAL ENDORSEMENT

Labor Makes a Choice

JOHN C. CORT

I REMEMBER a friend of mine, a CIO organizer, saying to me last year before the AFL-CIO merger, "I don't like this merger business. All it means is that we're going to join the AFL and get swallowed up by a bunch of conservative business unionists." I argued with him, but he was not convinced. The other day, though, I was tempted to call him up and gloat a little. After hot debate the executive council of the AFL-CIO had just voted by seventeen to five to endorse the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. Those opposed included Beck, McFetridge, Hutcheson, Bates and Randolph. Bates later announced he would vote for the ticket. But this vote was not the matter of my gloating.

Another vote had preceded this one, on the question of whether the Council should make any endorsement at all. There was the hard core of five, all from the AFL, who opposed it, and then there were three other AFL brothers who apparently lacked confidence in a Stevenson victory and felt that there was no point in betting on a losing horse. This made eight votes against any endorsement.

On the other side there were six council members from the AFL and eight of the ten new members from the CIO. (The other two were absent, as were two AFL members.) In other words, if it had been the old AFL council, the vote to endorse would have lost by eight to six. As it was, thanks to CIO votes, it carried by fourteen to eight. Those who came to be swallowed remained to swallow.

This conclusion is quite apart from whether you like the endorsement or dislike it. The point is that those who said that the CIO would find enough kindred souls in the AFL to make a majority were right. The result is that the ideas and program the CIO stood for are today far stronger than they were before the merger. The American labor movement has been captured by what, for want of a better pair of words, we must call its progressive wing.

This same meeting of the council gave additional evidence of the same phenomenon in the actions taken on racketeering. Not only did the Council administer a general spanking to international unions, such as Mr. Beck's powerful Teamsters, that make a practice of chartering "paper locals," so useful in promoting a hundred nefarious little schemes, but they also gave a particular spanking to three former AFL unions: the Distillery Workers, the Laundry Workers, and the former AFL Auto Workers (now known as the Allied Industrial Workers to distinguish it from the Reuther, or CIO, Auto Workers).

The Distillery Workers, found guilty of malpractice in the handling of welfare funds, were told that they must show cause "forthwith" why they should not be suspended. The others were told that they were under the spotlight of investigation by the Council's ethical practices committee.

On the other hand, the Council admitted to membership a union that admittedly has done nothing to put an end to discrimination against Negroes in its locals. This was the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the first of the independent railroad brotherhoods to knock at United Labor's door. This action not only seems to be a clear-cut violation of the AFL-CIO's high-sounding constitution, but also a poor advertisement for its program to secure an end

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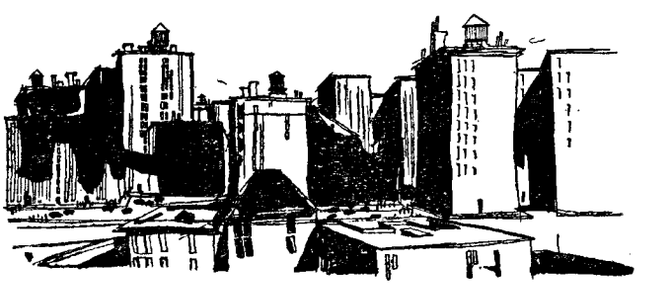
to segregation generally. The victory of the progressives does not seem to be complete.

TO GET back to the Stevenson endorsement. Myself, I like it. And it must be admitted that anything less would have been a kick in the pants to Adlai and an undeserved slap on the back to Ike. After all, even the AFL convention of 1952 had endorsed Stevenson on his first time around. Not to do so now would have been either complete defeatism or an admission that they were wrong the first time.

Most Council members, along with most Americans, like Ike personally. But they are not forgetting "the millionaire Cabinet" nor the double-cross administered to Martin Durkin, the Lonesome Plumber, who resigned from that cabinet when Eisenhower, under pressure from his business cronies in 1953, went back on his agreement to accept a reasonable minimum of amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act. Nor are they forgetting the offshore oil give-away nor the Administration's record on housing, minimum wages, social security and other issues close to the heart of American labor. They refuse to admit that they are a tail to the Democratic kite and they do admit that Eisenhower is neither a Hoover nor a Taft, but there is no denying it: their hearts belong to the party of Roosevelt and Truman. The global ruminations of Stevenson are a bit over their heads, perhaps, but no man on the political horizon gives such eloquent tongue to the things they believe in, and for this they admire and are grateful to him.

How much the rank-and-file union members will follow the lead of their leaders remains to be seen. The rank-and-filer is by nature less concerned with issues, unless they touch him personally, and more susceptible to such imponderables as Ike's smile, Mamie's bangs and an uneasy feeling that Stevenson thinks too much to qualify as a red-blooded American. Still, the Democrats are in much better shape than they were four years ago, Stevenson is a better campaigner now, Eisenhower has slowed up and there is always the ominous shadow of Richard Nixon. I have a feeling that it's going to be close this time, and who knows? Give them a few breaks and the Democrats might make it.



THE SCREEN

BAD SEEDS MAKE BITTER FRUIT

IF ONE could accept the main premise of "The Bad Seed" (that a child can inherit the tendency to kill) one would have to admit that the picture's little Rhoda is the very epitome of the bad seed. Always immaculately dressed and seemingly perfect in deportment, this eight-year-old girl commits her murders without a twinge of conscience or touch of pity. When her mother, already suspicious at the film's opening, is amazed that Rhoda shows no concern over a schoolmate's death (another of Rhoda's foul deeds), the child calmly replies, "Why should I feel sorry. It was Claude who got drowned, not me." The role is perfectly played by Patty McCormack, so perfectly in fact that one wonders why the film's other characters don't see through Rhoda's too flawless behavior—as does the simple-minded janitor (Henry Jones) whose hatred for the girl and chance discovery of the facts make him her next victim.

The mother, exceedingly well-played by Nancy Kelly —although she starts out on such a high pitch that her hysteria exhausts the audience before the film has completed its unpleasant course—doesn't really wise up to Rhoda until she discovers that she herself was an adopted child, the daughter of a famous murderess who also started her career at an early age. This scene between Nancy Kelly and Paul Fix (portraying the man who adopted and raised her) is frightfully gripping and adds one more tense note to the rising hysteria. In fact all the performances add to the tension, particularly those of Eileen Heckart as the grief-stricken and overwhelmed mother of the drowned boy, and Evelyn Varden as the gushing landlady who thinks Rhoda is the world's darlingest child and little suspects Rhoda's careful plans for her.

That this well-acted movie has such a strained and artificial air is probably due to its false bad-seed theme and to Producer-director Mervyn LeRoy's stagey rather than cinematic direction. John Lee Mahin based his script on Maxwell Anderson's play rather than on William March's original novel, and the effect is like a series of theatrical scenes interspersed with close-ups. For such an exciting story, it is strangely static and talky. Not having the nerve to use the play's shockingly ironical ending, the movie has tacked on a finale that detracts considerably from the force of the whole drama.

TWO OTHER new films this week, melodramas, have neither the length nor pretensions of "The Bad Seed." Both are thrillers that aim at little more

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than diversion. "Back from Eternity" uses the tried and proven formula of gathering a group of people in one setting and then letting them work out their destiny after a catastrophe brings out the best and worst in them. The setting is first a Panama airport, then a plane to South America and then a jungle clearing where the plane makes a forced landing during a hurricane. The crew and passengers scarcely resemble those one would meet on a real flight: the cynical pilot (Robert Ryan), the handsome, likable co-pilot (Keith Andes), the pretty, big-hearted stewardess (Adele Mara) and an assortment of passengers: a mean big-shot (Gene Barry), his hesitant fiancee (Phyllis Kirk), a prostitute (Anita Ekberg), a darling elderly couple (Beulah Bondi and Cameron Prud'Homme), a gangster's little boy (Jon Provost), a gunman who's guarding him (Jesse White). There are, finally, two later passengers: a tough policeman (Fred Clark) and his prisoner accused of murder (Rod Steiger). Producer-director John Farrow never lets our interest sag as he shows what happens to this group. By the time we learn that only five can escape in the plane from the surrounding headhunters, we really care who makes it. The ending is more exciting than ethical.

Something unusual in the shape of adventure thrillers is "Lisbon," which starts out with villain Claude Rains catching a bird and feeding it to his cat. We soon discover that Claude is quite a guy—with a gorgeous house in Lisbon, a series of beautiful "secretaries" and absolutely no morals whatsoever. He hires Ray Milland's boat and Ray to rescue Maureen O'Hara's husband who is a prisoner behind the iron curtain. As the plot progresses and Maureen begins to fall for Ray, it becomes evident that she doesn't want her husband back alive—but she'd like his body to prove his death and herself the inheritor of his fabulous millions. At times you don't know who is pulling whose leg in the movie, but since Milland produced, directed and starred in it, you begin to suspect he's pulling ours. If you can stand the joke, you'll find "Lisbon" also has some of the most beautiful color shots of Portugal ever shown on the screen.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

THE STAGE

THE MAKING OF AMERICANS

IN HIS handsome introduction to the volume of Gertrude Stein's *Last Operas and Plays,* Mr. Carl Van Vechten underlines the unique formal conception which dominated Miss Stein's writing for the theater: her vision of the drama as landscape, of the play as stasis. "A landscape is such a natural arrangement for a battlefield or a play," she wrote in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas,* "that one must write plays." Miss Stein was not interested in battlefields—a mordant passage in "The Mother of Us All" laments the eternal "fight fight fight between day and night"—and few of her plays can be said excessively to interest (though "Dr. Faustus Lights the Lights" and "Yes is for a Very Young Man" are full of provocation and mind), but in the two operas she wrote as collaborator with Mr. Virgil Thomson, she achieved an articulation of experience and a fulness of art not exceeded in the musical-dramatic theater of this century.

The exquisitely fluent "Four Saints in Three Acts" is the first of these, liquid and baffling, with something, in Mr. Stark Young's phrase, of "the quality of a thing in nature—a tree, a melon, a sheet of water, a flight of birds." At its best, it embodies Miss Stein's magisterial assumption that "generally speaking, anybody is more interesting doing nothing than doing anything," and the original range of her perception shows nowhere more clearly than in the account she has left of her attitude towards the material of life which is the opera's point of departure:

> And so it was natural that when I wanted saints that they should be Spanish saints. There are saints everywhere. There have been saints in Italy and in France and even in Germany and I suppose in Austria, I do not know anything about them, but the important saints have been Spanish and Italian and that is natural enough, there must be really weather in which to wander in order to be a saint. . . . A saint a real saint never does anything, a martyr does something but a really good saint does nothing and so I wanted to have Four Saints that did nothing and I wrote *Four Saints in Three Acts* and they did nothing and that was everything.

Mr. Young's phrase for "Four Saints" is "baroque fantasy—not the great baroque with its solemn magnificence or intellectual variation on the theme, but baroque in its unbroken air of spontaneity, its charming and capricious flights, within the key and hidden unity of the whole." One may say precisely this for "The Mother of Us All," though here the landscape is less private, is indeed that great public athaneum of nineteenth-century American life, oracular and rotund, full of a spacious and rhetorical eloquence, the monument to an age of didacticism and moral passion. This is the spiritual locale of "The Mother of Us All," and it is peopled, for the most part, with figures who have made a large investment of will in public life, and who noisily command that history shall attend to their impact on time. Daniel Webster is here ("Mr. President I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts she need none") and Lillian Russell ("Dear Friends,

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it is so beautiful to meet you all, so beautiful") and General Grant ("I do not like cannon balls, I do not like storms . . . I like everything and everybody to be silent and what I like I have . . . Everybody be silent"), caught each by Miss Stein in an idiosyncratic declamation and pose. In poignant counterpoint to these impresarios of self are the wistful moths of private personality, momentary personages in time such as the feminist Isabel Wentworth ("I just want to say has everybody forgotten Isabel Wentworth," a plaintive line echoes amid the clamorous, heedless orchestra of conflicting voices and wills) who might ask, with Miss Stein, "when this you see, remember me." And at the center is the intractable bluestocking Susan B. Anthony, shown now "doing her housework in her house," now debating abolition and suffrage, now brooding on the puzzle of her destiny, and apotheosized magnificently in the opera's epilogue when, turned literally to marble by weight of will and self, she speaks from the statue which is her monument in Congressional Hall.

Declamation is indeed the natural mode of these people, as it was of their age, and attitude is their characteristic stance. They inhabit a solipsistic universe, communicating not with each other but with History in the amphitheatre of the soul. That colloquy is too urgent, too august to brook interruption: having no beginning and no end, it is capable of infinite extension. Hence the opera's lack of dramatic "line," of a systematic logic. Nor does Mr. Thomson, as composer, deviate from the pattern Miss Stein has established: his score does not so much progress as embellish, evoke, suggest. It is a musical souvenir of sportive elegance, full of the harmonies, the sentiment and piety, the elation and fervor of American experience: Mr. Thomson arrests, with an unstressed sophistication and tenderness, the remembered lyricism of a certain energetic moment in national feeling.

Yet "the key and hidden unity of the whole"—where does it lie? The mastering theme of Miss Stein's work, one sees at this remove, was the definition of *identity*—it might be that of a rose, of a name, of the self—and in "The Mother of Us All" she pursued this obsessive search in the dense thicket of nineteenth-century American public life. She is at one here with James and Hawthorne and Melville in her concern with spiritual isolation, with the total demands of the ideal self. The imagination which turned instinctively for dramatic subject to saints and martyrs, found in Susan B. Anthony—"a martyr all my life not to what I won but to what was done"—a fertilizing image. And the figure of Susan B. dilates, under Miss Stein's passion, with a deepening richness of implication: her meditations on marrying and not marrying, on the wars of the private and public selves, on the very nature of good, crystallize in a poetry of trembling elegiac power the permanent dualities of idealism, the splendor and the cost of which Miss Stein knew so well in her own flesh.

Two performances of "The Mother of Us All," given last spring under Mr. Thomson's direction at the Phoenix Theatre, were the first wholly professional showings this work has had since its composition. They were witty, adroit and vivacious without, however, finality or an absolute style. Supremely, they rested on Mr. Thomson's lustrous rendering of the score, and Miss Shirlee Emmon's gravely pure and lyrical reading of the title role: an interpretation memorable, too, for its deep stain and thrust of Protestant sensibility. One wonders, however, why the Stein-Thomson operas have languished so long in the unplayed repertory, or had at best a limited, provincial existence in workshop productions. The reception at the Phoenix would seem to indicate that, if tried, they might easily sustain the weight of mass attention. Surely, for example, the New York City Opera Company, which is devoting its energies this season to the questionable, however distinguished, pleasures of Carl Orff and Frank Martin, might turn a chauvinistic eye on these most remarkable treasures of the contemporary American theater. "I write for myself and strangers," Miss Stein once announced. Her celebrity as a personage is secure; let us have now the evidence of the artist. It is time to admit the strangers.

RICHARD HAYES.

BOOKS

A Jesuit Poet in Elizabethan England

THE LIFE OF ROBERT SOUTHWELL, POET AND MARTYR. By Christopher Devlin. Farrar, Straus. $5.

By D. H. MOSELEY

THE WORLD has had to wait more than three and a half centuries for this definitive biography of Robert Southwell, the English poet and Elizabethan martyr who has been declared 'Blessed' by the Church. The delay was not due to indifference, for Southwell has been well loved, and his verse and prose familiar to students of sixteenth century literature. But the difficulties of research for an authoritative life were almost insuperable. This might at first seem strange, for a description of his martyrdom, written by an eyewitness, was available the very year of his death, 1595. Entitled *A brefe discourse of the condemnation and execution of Mr. Robert Southwell,* it furnished material for later biographers including the Jesuit chroniclers Henry More, Daniel Bartoli, Henry Foley and John Morris who employed the *Brefe Discourse* in their short biographies and added excerpts from

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Southwell's manuscript book of spiritual exercises and devotions, entries from the Douai and Rome English College *Diaries*, and facts gleaned from letters, some of which have since disappeared. Scholars concerned with Southwell, for instance Pierre Janelle, Father James H. McDonald, and, very recently and from a fresh angle, Professor Louis L. Martz of Yale in *The Poetry of Meditation,* have devoted their attention primarily to his writings.

But present-day readers, always on the look-out for human values and the entire man, are fortunate in being able to add to these works that of Southwell's present biographer who has succeeded in telling his story in chronological order, fully and accurately. Surmises there are, of course, but they are the surmises of an erudite Elizabethan scholar and are founded on a deep knowledge of the contemporary scene: they are so redolent of the English countryside in which Southwell's childhood was spent that they add immeasurably to the charm of the book.

The volume is exhaustively documented, and, turning from the sparkling narrative, with its almost irresistibly quotable, witty phrases, to the notes, one realizes that the vivid portrait of the priest-poet is, in fact, a mosaic of bits garnered from every presently available source. One finds a bit here from an old will or deed; there, from the Jesuit *Archives;* Strype's *Annals;* from the State Papers, Domestic and Foreign; from the indispensable Catholic Record Society of London Publications; from musty County histories. Recent scholarly studies, the newly discovered correspondence of Southwell and Garnet, as well as unpublished papers at Stonyhurst, have also been utilized. All of this was to be expected, of course, and the distinct contribution seems to be the bald honesty of the whole approach to the enormous amount of controversial matter with which the biographer had to deal.

The author stresses, as did Evelyn Waugh in his *Edmund Campion,* that as long as Queen Elizabeth "remained *de facto* ruler, it was lawful for Catholics to obey her in civil matters," and notes that "Allen had obtained from Pope Gregory the suspension of Pius V's decree against Elizabeth." But even with the Catholic attitude to the Bull of Excommunication — never officially published in England—the subject is difficult. In addition to such characters as the enigmatic Queen and her Secretaries Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, the complicated Philip II, and three such different Popes as Pius V, Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, the author has had to deal also with controversial characters who were close to Southwell, his friends Cardinal William Allen and Father Robert Persons. Add the stirs at the English College at Rome and the activities of the alumni who became linked to the English spy system and made it possible for Walsingham "to hear in London what was whispered in Rome." Consider also, the Babington Plot, the execution of the Queen of Scots, the Spanish Armada, and the hideous machinations of the priest-hunter Topcliffe that followed on the Statutes designed to impoverish the recusants and wipe out the Catholic faith, and one has an idea of what an undertaking it is to depict a man who was poet, priest and Jesuit and part and parcel of his times. Yet, the slim, young, auburn-haired Southwell, sensitive and serene, conscientious and courageous, wise and lovable, remains in the foreground. Whether he is in the Jesuit Novitiate in Rome, or moving among the young Earl of Southampton's literary friends in London, or in a hiding place writing at white heat *An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie,* he is forever developing in holiness, becoming fit for the martyrdom that he confidently expected.

If particular attention has been given to the English College and the English colony in Rome, it is because of light thrown not only on Southwell's calm behavior and personal piety in the midst of turmoil and excitement, but also on the far-reaching effects that happenings there would have on subsequent Catholic life in England. Some there were deliberately preparing their souls for martyrdom, while others were helping Walsingham to hasten their sacrifice.

The space given to the Babington Plot and Sir Francis Walsingham's interest in ridding England of the Queen of Scots is entirely justified by all that Southwell had to say about the matter in *An Humble Supplication.* Not fully informed, but close to the scene, he made statements in accord with what has been ferreted out by modern historians. One suspects that the *Supplication* will take on an entirely new value for students of the period who ponder the chapter, "Best Beloved Princess." Recently edited and readily available, the text is, as Francis Bacon assured his brother Anthony "worth the writing out."

The chronological arrangement has lent a refreshing touch to this volume, making possible the inclusion of some of the loveliest verses from the book of poems *Maeoniae* and revelatory passages from devotional writings and personal correspondence. In natural order, the pleasant chapter "A Wandering Minstrel" follows on an account of loyal Catholics' suffering over the Bloody Question and the Armada; and the impassioned description of the composition of *An Humble Supplication,* the valiant attempt to move Elizabeth to a fair treatment of her Catholic subjects, precedes the alluring chapter " 'Master W.S.' " There is a charming diffidence in the author's presentation of a surmise in regard to the dedication, 'To my worthy good cousin Master W.S.' and the introduction to *Saint Peter's Complaint* in which Southwell urged contemporary authors to show "how well verse and virtue suit together" for Shakespeare and Southwell were both connected with the Vaux of Harrowden.

Having paused with Southwell's vast family connections and the University Wits and 'Master W.S.', the narrative rushes on to Southwell's betrayal by the unfortunate Anne Bellamy at Topcliffe's instigation, his capture at her family home near Harrow-on-the-Hill,

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devastate, without brilliance (in the sense of cleverness) but with an emotion so pure that it never goes uncommunicated, the author tells a story that is in part folklore interwoven into an account of early life on his grandparents' farm in Asia Minor. In the genre of personal reminiscence the American reader might expect stronger stuff than Mr. Venezis gives us. His memories of childhood impressions are gentle in character, stamped neither with anguish nor with personal idiosyncrasy, but rather with a willingness to identify himself, always, very much with the entire human race. Perhaps this would be the outlook of a man who had risked his life in the struggle to defend his homeland from the Nazis, a brief account of which is given on the cover of this book. (It is also impossible to resist noting and admiring the modest, kindly face which appears on the cover, so very different from the usual run of lean, self-conscious novelists sucking at pipes in suspicious profile.)

In order to clarify exactly what is achieved in *Beyond the Aegean,* it is necessary to take issue with the term "novel" as applied to it. It does not fulfill, nor does it attempt to fulfill, what is usually considered the function of a modern psychological novel. The narrative is superb and artless; but psychology never emerges from folklore (however present it may be beneath the rough outlines); and the characters—well, the grandparents are quite simply as good as gold, the salt of the earth. If they are anything more—or less—this is not part of Mr. Venezis' story. The characters of the children are of those types which will forever be instantly grasped: first, of course, the frail little boy who grows up to write the novel; then his sisters, the oldest one, who is sensible and says mostly, "Be quiet! Go to sleep!"; the little maverick of the lot who is rebellious, curious, and mystically destined to die young; the dry but ardent little scholar immersed in algebraic equations; and the rosy-cheeked uncomplicated one whose joy is domesticity—they never break through these set patterns, and in this respect are not characters of a novel. And yet they serve the purpose of a *story,* a remembrance. If there is perhaps no such simplicity of personality in real life, such images have reality in our imaginations. They appear over and over again in literature; we are always tempted to think of ourselves or of others as one of these types.

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this story of family life and folklore is bound into a unit by strong themes, the foremost of which seems to be the place of violence in human existence. The youngsters on the farm are tearful and frightened when they learn about the "war with the jackals," in which the peasants, armed with drums and torches, beat off the starving hordes that have swept down from the mountains at harvest time: "Maddened and howling, the frightened animals retreated and swept on to neighboring farms . . . . It was like the lashing of a terrible wave, surging with fury first here and there, searching in vain to find a place to break, then beginning its cycle once more."

Little Peter and Artemis ask wonderingly why God does not give the jackals food when they cry, and why the men are so cruel to them. Later, in the throes of adolescent infatuations, they learn the taste of cruelty: Artemis cuts the saddle strap of her rival's horse, and Peter begs for a gun that he may hunt animals to display his prowess. "I've grown up now . . . . It's what all grownups do; they kill."

Only in the last pages of the book do they see the final effects of hatred and violence, swollen beyond any resemblance to the laws of nature. The first world war breaks out and repercussions of this "terrible wave" reach deep into Anatolia and cruelly, irrationally wrest the grandparents and their brood from the land which is their life.

And yet there is no bitterness to be found anywhere in this book. There is no trace of irony. It is a small, sweet apple of a book to be read perhaps on an autumn evening, when we are grateful for the skill of the storyteller and for his peculiarly unabashed love for, and acceptance of, life.

REVIEWERS

D. H. Moseley has contributed articles and reviews to the *Catholic World*, the *Dublin Review* and other magazines.

Alice Saxon is a frequent contributor to *The Commonweal*.

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INDEX TO VOLUME LXIV
April 6, 1956 to September 28, 1956

Articles, Editorials and Poetry

Aid to Tito ..... Editorial 362
Alger Hiss at Princeton ..... Editorial 89
Alienated Professor, The ..... Frederick D. Wilhelmsen 9
American Worker, The ..... Edward A. Marciniak 533
Anniversary and a Tribute ..... Editorial 137
Anomaly of Andre Gide, The ..... Martin Turnell 143
Another World ..... Editorial 384
Apostle to China ..... Lancelot C. Sheppard 464
Art and Prudence ..... Editorial 336
Artists and Patrons ..... Editorial 529
Banning H-Bomb Tests ..... Editorial 137
Banning Nuclear Tests ..... Editorial 577
Bases in a Divided World ..... Editorial 239
Bather, The: A Poem ..... Leonard Wolf 225
Battle Over ILO ..... Editorial 112
Blazing Cross, The ..... Editorial 217
Book and Politics, A ..... Editorial 384
British Lottery ..... Editorial 112
Burden of Algeria ..... Robert Barrat 606
Case for Consistency, A ..... Editorial 7
Catholicism, Writers and Critics ..... Editorial 136
Catholics and Political Office ..... Editorial 457
Challenge and Complacency ..... Editorial 337
Challenge of Nationalism, The ..... Editorial 529
Challenge in the UN ..... John Logue 387
Challenge to America ..... L. J. Twomey 603
Choosing the Candidates ..... Joseph F. Menez 411
Christianity and Civilization ..... Jean Danielou 531
Christianity and Ideologies ..... Christopher Dawson 139
Christians Under Nehru ..... Anthony J. Parel 117
Church of Silence, The ..... Editorial 479
Civil Rights Program ..... Editorial 88
Clarification and Agreement ..... Editorial 338
Commonwealth Conference, The ..... Editorial 386
Communism's Changing Mask ..... Editorial 114
Communist Leaders in England ..... Editorial 87
Communist Party Taxes ..... Editorial 41
Communist Reaction ..... Editorial 8
Competing at Trade Fairs ..... Editorial 600
Continued Search, The ..... Editorial 89
Continuing Debate, A ..... Gunnar D. Kumlien 630
Contrasts in Living Standards ..... Editorial 575
Crime and Criticism ..... John P. Sisk 72
Crisis in Algeria ..... Robert Barrat 70
Crisis Inside Communism ..... Paul Jacobs 174
Curbs on Credit ..... Editorial 216
Dame Laurentia and "Brother Bernard" ..... Editorial 456
DAR and Immigration, The ..... Editorial 114
"Dead Duck" ..... Editorial 169
Death of a Myth ..... J. L. Benvenisti 246
Decision on the Union Shop ..... Editorial 337
Decline of Radicalism, The ..... John Stanley 269
Defeat at the Box Office ..... Gunnar D. Kumlien 120
Democrat's View, A ..... Paul H. Douglas and Howard Shuman 486
Dreiser and His Critics ..... Seymour Krim 229
Eisenhower As Hobson ..... Editorial 458
Elections in Ceylon ..... Editorial 65
Elections in Japan ..... Murray Polner 537
Elegy ..... Leonard Wolf 344
Embattled Suez ..... Editorial 455
Enlarging NATO ..... Editorial 135
Exchanging Visits ..... Editorial 289
Executive Suite ..... Editorial 242
Exit Mr. Stevenson? ..... Editorial 7
Exposé Magazines, The ..... John P. Sisk 223
Fact and Fancy ..... Editorial 578
Falling Idols ..... John Caxton 198
Family Farms ..... Edward W. O'Rourke 272
Fate of Foreign Aid ..... Editorial 311
First Test ..... Editorial 217
Food Bank for Asia? ..... Editorial 409
Forerunner, The: A Poem ..... Leah Bodine Drake 494
Franco and Peron ..... Francis E. McMahon 219
Franco, Peron and the Church ..... Editorial 215
Fugitives from the Soviet ..... William J. Donovan 249
Future of Education, The ..... Thomas Molnar 291
Galindez Case, The ..... Editorial 66
Gang's All Here, The ..... Editorial 482
German Reunification ..... Editorial 194
Going Up ..... Editorial 506
Golden Horizon ..... Joseph M. Duffy, Jr. 564
Guests from Russia? ..... Editorial 169
Happy Warrior, The ..... Editorial 482
Health Issue, The ..... Editorial 335
"Hell Ship" ..... Editorial 577
Higher Education ..... Editorial 5
Holding the Line ..... Editorial 170
Holy Week Liturgy, The ..... Editorial 40
How Neutral Is Nehru? ..... Anthony J. Parel 339
Impotence of Hatred, The ..... Gunnar D. Kumlien 390
Impressions of America ..... Michael P. Fogarty 507
Incident of Judge Bigelow, The ..... Editorial 481
Ishmael Complex, The ..... Patrick F. Quinn 444
Israel and Anti-Semitism ..... Editorial 63
Israel Today: Modern Sparta ..... Gunnar D. Kumlien 512
Japanese Textile Boycott ..... Editorial 88
John Wesley's Legacy ..... John M. Todd 369
Labor Code of Ethics ..... Editorial 578
Labor Makes a Choice ..... John C. Cort 632
Labor of Love ..... Editorial 480
Land Reform in Maremma ..... George Lorimer 297
Last Fortress of the Celt ..... David H. Greene 609
Last Strongholds ..... Editorial 193
Legion's Political Judgment, The ..... Editorial 431
Letter to France ..... François Mauriac 579
Little Questionnaire, A ..... Editorial 218
Localized Death ..... Editorial 434
Long Road to Baghdad ..... William Pfaff 581
Luxury of Optimism, The ..... Editorial 168
Man Who Didn't, The ..... Editorial 40
Meeting of Minds ..... James Collins 393
Members of the Wedding ..... Editorial 65
Minimum Wage ..... Editorial 194
Mirror of Politics ..... William V. Shannon 489
Missionary Today, The ..... Bede Griffiths 90
Moscow and Peking ..... Harold C. Hinton 315
Movies as Art, The ..... Frank Getlein 584
Mr. Chotiner Under Fire ..... Editorial 289
Mr. Eisenhower Again ..... Editorial 551
Mr. Javits and the Whisperers ..... Editorial 601
Mr. Kefauver's Chances ..... Editorial 266
Mr. Stevenson Again ..... Editorial 527
Mr. Khrushchev's Foreign Policy ..... Editorial 287
Mr. Truman on Hiss ..... Editorial 602
Myths About Desegregation ..... Mabel M. Smythe 115
Nathanael West's Holy Fool ..... Arthur Cohen 276
National Defense ..... Editorial 41
Neglected Asset ..... Editorial 192
Neutralism in Asia ..... Harold C. Hinton 627
Neutralism in Wisconsin ..... Editorial 263
Neutrals and Neutralism ..... Editorial 434
New Approach to Foreign Aid ..... Editorial 264
New Communist Line ..... Michael Harrington 363
New Election, Old Approach ..... Editorial 383
New Republicanism, The ..... Editorial 576
New Sources of Oil ..... Editorial 553
No Right to Work? ..... Editorial 193
Organizing Drive ..... Editorial 288
Pacifists Arrested ..... Editorial 432
Passing of the Pullman? ..... Editorial 458
Pattern for Progress ..... John LaFarge 243
Peron's Successors ..... Jaime Potenze 462
Place of the Intellectual, The ..... Editorial 313
Plight of Refugees ..... Editorial 66
Political Critics of Art ..... Editorial 241
Politics and Platforms ..... Editorial 505
Politics of Mediocrity ..... Victor C. Ferkiss 325
"Poor Sod" As Hero ..... Sam Hynes 51
Poverty and Plenty ..... Editorial 458
Power and Plenty ..... Clyde T. Ellis 177
Power of the Senate, The ..... William V. Shannon 195
Power of the President, The ..... Victor C. Ferkiss 553
President and Politics, The ..... Editorial 111
President's Illness, The ..... Editorial 288

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'riest of the Slums ..... Anonymous 510
'rogress Report ..... John C. Cort 201
'rophet with Honor ..... Philip Scharper 125
'rotestants in Spain ..... Editorial 265
'rotestants in Spain ..... Editorial 503
'uerto Ricans in New York ..... Ivan Illich 294
'yrrhic Victory ..... Editorial 385
Question and Answer ..... Editorial 241
Race and Politics ..... Editorial 362
Race and Religion ..... Editorals 290
Racketeers in Labor ..... Editorals 167
Realism in Foreign Policy ..... Michael P. Fogarty 267
Realities of Religion ..... Aelred Graham 435
Religion and Higher Education .... Robert M. Hutchins 321
"Report from America" ..... Editorial 64
Report on a Report ..... Editorial 359
Report on a Report II ..... Editorial 407
Republican Intellectuals ..... Editorial 506
Republican's View, A ..... Jacob K. Javits 483
Riddle of Sean O'Casey, The ..... Vivian Mercier 366
Right-to-Work Laws ..... John C. Cort 438
Role of Dogma, The ..... Editorial 553
Role of Woman, The ..... John L. Thomas 171
Rumors of War ..... Michael P. Fogarty 558
Russia in the Middle East ..... Editorial 138
Sailors' Return ..... Editorial 113
Search for Meaning ..... Russell Barta 17
Secularization of Culture, The ..... Thomas F. O'Dea 67
Senator George ..... Editorial 410
Shaping the Christian Message ..... Gerard S. Sloyan 413
Shift on Foreign Aid ..... Editorial 39
Short Hauls ..... Editorial 7
Signs and Symbols ..... Lyman Bryson 14
Situation Unchanged ..... Editorial 482
Soaring Campaign Costs ..... Editorial 312
Southern Point of View, The ..... Editorial 266
South's Economy, The ..... R. W. Faulhaber 459
Spirit of a Decade ..... Thomas F. Curley 613
Spur to Conformity ..... Editorial 602
State Censorship ..... Editorial 242
Steel Negotiations ..... Editorial 264
Stoicism in the South ..... Walker Percy 342
Stresses and Strains ..... John C. Cort 319
Strike Against Automation ..... Editorial 168
Suez Boycott ..... Editorial 624
Suez Canal, The ..... Editorial 505
Supreme Court, The ..... Editorial 312
Teaching the Teachers ..... Donald McDonald 345
Teen-Age Violence ..... Editorial 528
Televised Telephoning ..... Editorial 554
That Old Broken Record ..... Editorial 410
Tighter Credit ..... Editorial 552
Too Much Gold ..... Editorial 529
Thunder on the Right ..... Editorial 361
Time and the Catholic Press ..... Editorial 240
Time of Decision ..... Editorial 623
Tito's Triumph ..... Josef Korbel 43
Tranquil Surface, The ..... Editorial 42
Trouble with Time ..... Editorial 137
Turn of the Screw ..... Editorial 336
Twain, The ..... Editorial 601
Two Chinese Developments ..... Editorial 504
Two Men, The ..... Editorial 599
Vanished Frogman ..... Editorial 192
Victims of Communism ..... Editorial 191
Walter de la Mare ..... Editorial 338
Wanted: Statement of Policy ..... Editorial 386
War Novel, The ..... William J. Smith 146
Water, Power, and Politics ..... Lawrence T. King 46
Wisdom of Children, The ..... Ernestine Evans 98
Workers and *The Daily Worker* ..... Editorial 361
World Behind Bars ..... Eileen Fantino 93
World of Ibsen, The ..... Stephen Whicher 417
"Worship and Work" ..... Editorial 314

Book Reviews

Abode of Love, The: By Aubrey Menen.. Gerald Weales 256
Adventures of a Slum Fighter:
By Charles F. Palmer ..... John Stanley 129
Affairs of State: The Eisenhower Years:
By Richard H. Rovere ..... M. A. Fitzsimons 231
All Honorable Men: By David Karp .... John F. Sullivan 31
All Manner of Men: Edited by Riley Hughes
James Greene 155
Archbishop and the Lady, The:
By Michael de la Bedoyere ..... Martin Turnell 255
Ayorama: By Raymond de Coccola
and Paul King ..... Thomas F. Curley 58
Beyond the Aegean: By Ilias Venezis ..... Alice Saxon 637
Beyond the Dreams of Avarice:
By Russell Kirk ..... Frederick D. Wilhelmsen 375
Bitter Honeymoon and Other Stories:
By Alberto Moravia ..... James Greene 520
Bound Man, The: By Ilse Aichinger .. Patricia Donegan 354
Brandeis: A Free Man's Life:
By Alpheus Thomas Mason ..... John Cournos 570
Burning Jewel, The: By Teresa Kay ..... Frank Getlein 497
Burnt Offering: By Albrecht Goes ..... Anne Fremantle 354
Capri Letters, The: By Mario Soldati .. William Dunlea 186
Certain Smile, A: By Francois Sagan ... Anne Fremantle 592
Children's Books ..... Claire Huchet Bishop 100
China: New Age and New Outlook:
By Ping-Chia Kuo ..... Harold C. Hinton 78
Comfort Me With Apples:
By Peter De Vries ..... Edwin Kennebeck 233
Contest of Ladies, A: By William Sansom.. Frank Getlein 185
Coventry Patmore: By E. J. Oliver ..... Bette Richart 161
Cross of Iron: By Will Heinrich ..... Neil Brennan 258
Crowning Privilege, The: By Robert Graves
Gerald Weales 399
Cup of Furv, The: By Upton Sinclair ... Seymour Krim 474
Dance in the Sun, A:
By Dan Jacobson ..... Jean Holzhauer 472
Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ, The:
By Geoffery Graystone, S.M. ..... Joseph Fitzmeyer 327
Democracy and Dictatorship:
By Zevedel Barbu ..... M. A. Fitzsimons 128
Democrat Looks at His Party, A:
By Dean Acheson ..... William V. Shannon 56
Desolate South, The: By John T. Trowbridge
Edited by Gordon Carroll ..... John Cournos 401
Dispossessed, The: By Geoffrey Wagner.. Dachine Rainer 232
Dying We Live: Translated
by Reinhard C. Kuhn ..... Anne Fremantle 330
English Literature in the Sixteenth Century:
By C. S. Lewis ..... Anne Fremantle 424
Flight from the Enchanter, The:
By Iris Murdoch ..... John P. Sisk 158
For All We Know: By G. B. Stern ..... Frank Getlein 521
Gentleman and the Tiger, The:
Edited by Harold C. Syrett ..... John Cournos 82
Gideon Goes to War: By Leonard Mosley .. William Pfaff 80
Girl in May: By Bruce Marshall ..... Patricia Donegan 257
Gothic Cathedral, The:
By Otto von Simson ..... James R. Mellow 400
Gray Fox: Robert E. Lee and the Civil War:
By Burke Davis ..... John Cournos 450
Green Hills and Other Stories, The:
By Walter Macken ..... William J. Smith 522
Green Mare: By Marcel Ayme ..... Henry Popkin 160
Guestward Ho!: By Barbara Hooton
and Patrick Dennis ..... John P. Sisk 352
Heel of Spring, The: By Frank Rooney
Thomas F. Curley 126
House at Adampur, The:
By Anand Lall ..... William Dunlea 567
I Am a Mathematician: By Norbert Wiener John P. Sisk 27
In Search of Heresy:
By John W. Aldridge ..... Thomas F. Curley 423
Ishmael: By James Baird ..... Patrick F. Quinn 444
Joyce, the Man, the Work, the Reputation:
By Marvin Magalaner and Richard M. Kain
Michael Harrington 471
King's Peace, The: By C. V. Wedgewood Anne Fremantle 184
Life of Little Saint Placid:
By Genevieve Gallois ..... Patricia Donegan 128
Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr:
By Christopher Devlin ..... D. H. Moseley 635
Life of Thomas Cranmer, The:
By Theodore Maynard ..... Doris Grumbach 306

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lincoln and the Tools of War:
By Robert V. Bruce ..... John Cournos 210
Living Bread, The: By Thomas Merton .... J. N. Moody 354
Lonely Passion of Judith Hearne, The:
By Brian Moore ..... William Clancy 448
Long View, The: By Elizabeth Jane Howard Alice Saxon 280
Lord of the Rings, The: III Volumes:
By J. R. R. Tolkien ..... Anthony Bailey 154
Loyal and the Disloyal, The:
By Morton Grodzins ..... Michael Harrington 183
Lucy Crown: By Irwin Shaw ..... Geoffrey Wagner 56
Lycian Shore, The: By Freya Stark ..... John P. Sisk 567
Madame Solario: Anonymous ..... William Pfaff 547
Malefactors, The: By Caroline Gordon.. John W. Simons 54
Mama I Love You: By William Saroyan Thomas F. Curley 302
Man Who Elected Lincoln, The:
By Jay Monaghan ..... John Cournos 210
Mandarins, The: By Simone de Beauvoir .. Frank Getlein 279
Marianne Thornton: By E. M. Forster .. William Dunlea 352
Meaning of Bandung, The:
By Carlos P. Romulo ..... Harold C. Hinton 402
Mencken: A Portrait from Memory:
By Charles Angoff ..... R. T. Horchler 422
Minority Report: H. L. Mencken's Notebooks:
R. T. Horchler 422
Modern Political Parties:
Edited by Sigmund Neumann ..... Victor C. Ferkiss 209
Mori Sa'id: By Havim Hazaz ..... Henry Popkin 208
Moscow Was My Parish:
By Georges Bissonnette, A.A. ..... Helene Iswolsky 281
Narrow Covering, The: By Julia Siebel.. Jean Holzhauer 497
Naught for Your Comfort:
By Trevor Huddleston ..... Ned O'Gorman 303
Ninth Wave, The: By Eugene Burdick .. John F. Sullivan 591
Nun's Story, The: By Kathryn Hulme .. Patricia Donegan 570
O Beulah Land: By Mary Lee Settle ..... Dexter Allen 545
One Foot in Eden: By Edwin Muir ..... Bette Richart 449
Other Paris, The: By Mavis Gallant .. Edwin Kennebeck 79
Over the Bridge: By Richard Church .. Patricia Donegan 617
Perfect Woman, A: By L. P. Hartley ..... Nora Magid 303
Peter the Great:
By Constantin de Greenwald ..... John Cournos 130
Power Elite, The:
By C. Wright Mills ..... Michael Harrington 305
Raven and the Whale, The: By Perry Miller
Henry Popkin 377
Recent and Notable 162, 498
Red, Black, Blond and Olive:
By Edmund Wilson ..... Gerald Weales 77
Return to Power: By Alistair Horne ... Victor C. Ferkiss 400
Revolt of the Moderates, The:
By Samuel Lubell ..... Victor C. Ferkiss 325
Richard Raynal, Solitary:
By Robert Hugh Benson ..... Elizabeth Bartelme 234
Ripening Seed, The: By Colette ..... Alice Saxon 473
Road, The: By Harry Martinson ..... Jack Patterson 207
Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox:
By James MacGregor Burns ..... Michael Harrington 544
Sacrifice, The: By Adele Wiseman ..... Henry Popkin 616
Sailor, Sense of Humor, and Other Stories, The:
By V. S. Pritchett ..... Anthony Bailey 593
Secret of Democracy, The:
By Suzanne Labin ..... Victor C. Ferkiss 29
Seven Islands, The: By Jon Godden ... Patricia Donegan 449
Sights and Spectacles:
By Mary McCarthy ..... Richard Hayes 615
Single Pebble, A: By John Hersey ..... R. T. Horchler 329
Six Keys to the Soviet System:
By Bertram D. Wolfe ..... James Rorty 127
Spoiled Children, The:
By Philippe Hériat ..... John F. Sullivan 208
St. Ignatius of Loyola: By Leonard Von Matt
and Hugo Rahner, S. J. ..... Philip Scharper 518
St. John Fisher: By E. E. Reynolds .... Doris Grumbach 57
Stature of Theodore Dreiser, The: Edited by Alfred Kazin
and Charles Shapiro ..... Seymour Krim 229
Stories of Liam O'Flaherty, The:
Introduction by Vivian Mercier .... David H. Greene 328
Straight and Narrow Path, The: By Honor Tracy
John F. Sullivan 495
Sudden Strangers, The: By William E. Barrett
John F. Sullivan 280
Theme Is Freedom, The: By John Dos Passos
R. T. Horchler 156
They Fell from God's Hands:
By Hans Werner Richter ..... Neil Brennan 81
Thing of Beauty, A: By A. J. Cronin ... Anthony Bailey 353
Things of This World: By Richard Wilbur.. John Logan 474
Tortured Earth, The: By Gert Legid .. William J. Smith 423
Train Was on Time, The:
By Heinrich Boll ..... Edwin Kennebeck 329
Unicorn and Other Poems, The:
By Anne Morrow Lindbergh ..... Bette Richart 568
Winter in the Air:
By Sylvia Townsend Warner ..... Dachine Rainer 33
Wreath for Udomo, A: By Peter Abrahams James Greene 376

The Stage, by Richard Hayes

Four Saints in Three Acts 634
Iceman Cometh, The 515
King and I, The 299
Littlest Revue, The 299
Measure for Measure 540
Mister Johnson 149
Month in the Country, A 150
Most Happy Fella, The 226
Mother of Us All, The 634
My Fair Lady 95
New Faces of 1956 396
Ponder Heart, The 22
Uncle Vanya 75
Waiting for Godot 203

The Screen, by Philip T. Hartung

Alexander the Great 96
Ambassador's Daughter, The 611
Autumn Leaves 420
Away All Boats 419
Back from Eternity 633
Backlash 49
Bad Seed, The 633
Ballet of Romeo and Juliet, The .. 75
Bhowani Junction 251
Bigger Than Life 466
Bold and the Brave, The 151
Bus Stop 561
Catered Affair, The 300
Cockleshell Heroes 300
Come Next Spring 49
Conqueror, The 96
Crime in the Streets 179
Davy Crockett and the River Pirates 514
D-Day the Sixth of June 274
Doctors, The 539
Eddie Duchin Story, The 348
Fastest Gun Alive, The 492
French-Cancan 150
Gaby 274
Goodbye, My Lady 204
Great Locomotive Chase, The 324
Harder They Fall, The 227
High Society 397
Hilda Crane 179
Invitation to the Dance 226
Johnny Concho 561
Jubal 49
Kid for Two Farthings, A 204
King and I, The 396
La Strada 441
Last Ten Days, The 74
Leather Saint, The 371
Lisbon 634
Lovers and Lollipops 24
Madame Butterfly 150
Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The 121
Man Who Knew Too Much, The .. 204
Miracle in the Rain 27
Moby Dick 324
Papa, Mama, the Maid and I 611
Phantom Horse, The 514
Private's Progress 539
Proud and Profane, The 300
Proud Ones, The 492
Rack, The 179
Rawhide Years, The 371
Rebel in Town 492
Rififi 348
Searchers, The 274
Secrets of the Reef 441
Serenade 27
Seven Wonders of the World 122
Somebody Up There Likes Me 371
Storm Center 466
Swan, The 96
That Certain Feeling 348
These Wilder Years 514
Toy Tiger 514
Trapeze 251
Tribute to a Bad Man 49
Twenty-three Paces to Baker Street 251
Walk The Proud Land 561
War and Peace 587
Zanzabuku 540

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Academic Freedom, 89, 222, 227
Adenauer, Chancellor Conrad, 194
Agriculture, U. S., 272
Administration, Republican, The, 41, 88, 111, 135, 137, 168, 178, 195, 242, 263, 311, 337, 363, 384, 385, 386, 434, 506, 552
Advertising, 384
Africa, 387
Algeria, 71, 193, 606
American Culture, 67, 223, 229, 269, 291, 313, 321, 372, 373, 384, 445, 507, 529, 613
Anti-Semitism, 63, 482
Aran Islands, The, 609
Argentina, 215, 219, 420, 462
Art, 241, 253, 336, 529
Asia, 315, 337, 339, 387, 409, 627
Automation, 168

Bigelow, Judge John O., 481
Blacklisting, Report on, 359, 407, 432, 516
British Commonwealth, The, 386
Bulganin, Nikolai A., 87, 97, 169, 338

Cain, Harry P., 169, 242
California, 47
Capital Punishment, 76, 123
Catechisms, 413
Catholic Church, The, 205, 253, 349, 435, 531
In Argentina, 215, 219, 420, 462
In Asia, 91, 117, 181, 531
In China, 464
In France, 580
In Soviet Satellites, 97, 479
In Spain, 215, 219, 265, 420, 503
In the United States, 112, 122, 136, 137, 275, 296, 345, 457, 469, 510, 553, 588
Catholic Press, The, 240
Censorship, 227, 241, 242, 336, 349
Ceylon, 65, 168
Children, 98
China, 315, 464, 504
Chotiner, Murray, 289
Church-State Relations, 215, 219, 265, 420, 462, 469
Civil Liberties, 88, 93, 169, 193, 242, 266, 289, 290, 342, 359, 362, 407, 432, 481, 505
Coexistence, 289, 338, 339, 387, 504
Cold War, The, 65, 87, 97, 168, 169, 193, 287, 385
Colonialism, 7, 91, 193, 387, 530
Communist Party, The, 8, 41, 87, 114, 174, 191, 193, 198, 242, 287, 315, 336, 338, 361, 363, 482
Congress of the U. S., 195, 555
Congressional Committees, 289, 359, 361, 407, 432, 516
Conservation of Natural Resources, 46, 177
Conservatism, 263, 269, 325
Conventions, Political, 411, 482, 505, 527, 551
Crabb, Commander Lionel, 192
Cyprus, 193, 240, 246

Deacons, 205
Democracy, 139
Democratic Party, The, 88, 195, 218, 386, 482, 486, 505, 527
Desegregation, 115 151, 217, 243, 266, 290, 342, 363, 505, 603
(see Race Relations and Civil Liberties)
DeStalinization, 8, 43, 87, 114, 191, 198, 242, 287, 363, 385, 482
Dostoevski, Feodor, 125, 276
Dreiser, Theodore, 229
Dulles, Secretary John F., 135, 137, 311, 385, 434

Eastland, Sen. James, 88, 361, 577, 578
Education, 5, 9, 124, 243, 291, 321
Catholic, 17, 50, 180, 275, 345, 398, 413
Egypt, 455, 505 530, 553, 558, 606
Eisenhower, President Dwight D., 14, 111, 137, 170, 242, 263, 288, 290, 311, 335, 384, 434, 458, 527, 551, 576, 599
Encyclicals, Social, The, 137, 201, 215

Food Surpluses, 409, 575
Foreign Aid, 39, 135, 137, 264, 311, 362, 409, 576
Foreign Policy, U. S., 7, 135, 239, 267, 311, 337, 385, 387, 434, 504, 530, 611, 627
Foreign Trade, 88, 529, 600
France, 70, 198, 579, 606
Franco, General, 215, 219
Freedom of the Press, 359, 384, 407, 432
French North Africa, 70, 193, 579, 606
Freud, Sigmund, 49, 50, 97, 275
Fuchs, Herbert, 40
Fund for the Republic, The, 359, 516

Galindez, Jesus De, 66
Geneva Meetings, 170
George, Sen. Walter, 410
Germany, 194, 205, 413, 529
Gide, André 143
Great Britain, 64, 87, 97, 112, 114, 151, 152, 168, 192, 246, 369, 505, 554, 558, 564
Griffin, Bernard Cardinal, 554

Hatkin, Sidney, 169
Hervé, Pierre, 198
Highways, 8
Hiss, Alger, 89, 227, 301, 602

Ibsen, Henrick, 417
Iceland, 482
Immigration, 66, 113, 114, 294, 577, 578, 589
India, 91, 117, 181, 339, 576
Inflation, 216, 467, 506, 517, 542, 552
Intellectualism, 313
International Labor Organization, The, 112, 122
Ireland, 366, 609
Israel, 63, 390, 512, 630
Italy, 297, 601

Japan, 88, 537, 611
Juvenile Delinquency, 528

Kefauver, Sen. Estes, 7, 218, 265
Kelly, Miss Grace, 65
Khrushchev, Nikita S., 8, 43, 87, 97, 169, 287, 315, 337, 338

Labor, 194, 201, 215, 264, 288, 319, 337, 467, 533, 578, 632 (See Unions)
Labor, Lay-offs in, 217
Latin America, 387, 553
Law, Natural, The, 562
Literary Criticism, 51, 125, 136, 143, 146, 151, 152, 229, 275, 276, 313, 365, 417, 445, 517, 564
Lebbe, Rev. Vincent, 464
Liturgy, 40, 92, 181, 464, 493

Magazines, Exposé, 223
Magazines, "Little, The", 480, 564
Makarios, Archbishop, 632
Melville, Herman, 445
Methodism, 369
Middle East, The, 63, 311, 337, 387, 390, 512, 553, 581
Motion Pictures, 120, 431, 584
Murray, Thomas E., 137, 577
Mystery Story, The, 72, 182, 275

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 151, 246, 266, 362
National Defense, 41, 135, 168, 482, 623
National Legion of Decency, The, 242, 431
Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal, 117, 339, 577
Neutralism, 339, 434, 537, 627
Nixon, Vice President Richard, 289, 434, 458, 489
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, The 135, 194, 239, 311, 434, 482
Novel, The, 51, 72, 125, 136, 143, 146, 151, 152, 229, 276, 445
Nuclear War, 41, 239, 336
Nuclear Weapons, 137, 168, 434, 577

O'Casey, Sean, 366, 517
Oil, Sources of, 553

Pakistan, 409
Pacifism, 432
Para-Psychology, 89
Peron, General, 215, 219, 462
Philippine Islands, The, 457
Philosophy, Modern, 393, 562
Poland, 191, 361, 542
Politics, 196, 241, 263, 325, 363, 410, 411, 431, 457, 483, 489, 505, 555, 601
Pope Pius XII, 123, 137, 479, 577
Presidency of U. S., 111, 555
Presidential Campaign, The, 14, 111, 196, 288, 312, 325, 335, 383, 386, 483, 506, 527, 551, 577, 599, 632
Prisons, 93
Puerto Ricans, 294, 442, 589

Race Relations, 115, 151, 243, 266, 342, 603
Radicalism, 269
Refugees, 66, 249
Religion, 435, 443, 589
and Culture, 67, 90, 136, 139, 171, 182, 191, 222, 253, 349, 435, 493, 510, 531, 553, 580, 588
and Politics, 215, 219, 290, 342, 431, 457, 469, 580, 603
Freedom of, 97, 265, 479, 503, 542
Republican Party, The, 195, 263, 335, 383, 384, 458, 483, 506, 551, 576

Saint John's Abbey, 314
Satellites, Soviet, 97, 114, 191, 479
Secularism, 67, 139, 182
Shaw, George Bernard, 456
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, The 409, 434
Southern U. S., Economy of, 459
Spain, 215, 219, 265, 420, 495, 503
Spiritual Exercises, The, 442
Stalin, Joseph, 8, 114, 318
Standards of Living, 194, 221, 248, 409, 420, 495, 506, 510, 575
Stevenson, Adlai, 7, 14, 137, 218, 505, 527, 577, 599
Stoicism, 342
Suez Canal, The, 455, 505, 530, 553, 558, 606, 624
Supreme Court, The, 312, 361, 420, 603

Tito, Marshal, 43, 362
Transportation, 7, 458
Treason, 397
Truman, Harry S., 195, 527

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 114, 125, 242, 249, 315
Unions, Labor, 137, 167, 201, 288, 319, 337, 438, 533, 578, 632
United States Information Agency, 241, 336, 578
United Nations, The, 387

Walter, Representative Francis, 359, 409, 432, 516, 578
Wesley, John, 369
West, Nathanael, 276
Wilson, Secretary Charles, 41, 337
Woman, Role of, 171, 372, 373, 516

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